Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT USNATO 11075 ACTION SECSTATE SECDEF INFO USDEL MBFR VIENNA BONN LONDON ROME USNMR SHAPE USCINCEUR NOV 08.

QUOTE S E C R E T USNATO 11075

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR

SUBJECT: MBFR: 7 NOVEMBER SPC MEETING: NEW WESTERN

INITIATIVE

REFS: (A) USNATO 11032 DTG 071811Z NOV 77,
(B) USNATO 10901 DTG 031859Z NOV 77, (C) USNATO 9865
DTG 131406Z OCT 77, (D) USNATO 10964 DTG 041901Z NOV 77,
(E) USNATO 10132 DTG 201847Z OCT 77, (F) USNATO 10145
DTG 201938Z OCT 77, (G) USNATO 10833 DTG 021755Z NOV 77,
(H) STATE 264769 DTG 050128Z NOV 77

SUMMARY: ITALIAN AND BELGIAN DESIRE FOR FURTHER GENERAL DISCUSSION OF NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE AT 7 NOVEMBER SPC MEETING POSTPONED PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH REVIEW. IN PARTIAL RESPONSE TO ITALIAN CONCERN, FRG TABLED "CHAPEAU" LANGUAGE ON ALLIED ATTITUDES TOWARD STABILIZING MEASURES SECRET

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(PARA 5). (SUBSEQUENTLY BELGIAN REP PRIVATELY SUGGESTED MBFR "FUTURE WORK PROGRAM" TO ASSURE STUDY OF CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES NOW BEING RAISED.) ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON BELGIAN PROPOSAL PARA 4. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THE SOVIET RESPONSE TO WESTERN DATA PROPOSAL (REF A), SPC CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED

BEGINNING PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH REVIEW OF THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE AS REQUESTED BY FRG REP 3 NOVEMBER (PARA 4, REF B).

- 2. ITALIAN REP EMPHASIZED THAT WHILE IT WOULD BE NECESSARY LATER TO REVIEW THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH, MORE GENERAL DISCUSSION WAS NECESSARY FIRST. REITERATING WHAT APPEARS TO BE THE BASIC ITALIAN POSITION (REF C). ITALIAN REP
- -- STRESSED CONCERN OVER AN INITIATIVE THAT WOULD BE A CONCESSION TO THE EAST WITHOUT ASSURANCE OF A POSITIVE EASTERN REACTION:
- -- REMARKED THAT THE CONCEPT OF TWO PHASES OF NEGOTIATION APPEARS TO BE DISAPPEARING WITHOUT PROPER ANALYSIS OF WHAT EFFECT THE NEW EMPHASIS ON PHASE I COMMITMENTS WILL HAVE ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND FLANK SECURITY;
- -- NOTED THAT BELGIAN QUESTIONS ON THE CONTENT OF PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS HAD NOT BEEN ANSWERED IN DETAIL (PARA 2B REF B);
- -- REQUESTED COMPLETION OF THE MBFR WG STUDY ON THE MILITARY EFFECTS OF THE NEW INITIATIVE BEFORE PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH REVIEW. COMMENT: ITALIANS HAVE ALSO BEEN SECRET

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DRAGGING THEIR FEET ON WG STUDY, (PARA 4, REF D). END COMMENT.

- 3. BELGIAN REP SUPPORTED ITALIAN DESIRE FOR THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE. HE EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO PROPERLY TIME WESTERN PRESENTATION OF THE NEW INITIATIVE AND STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING AN EXCHANGE OF DATA WITH THE EAST BEFORE A DECISION ON TIMING. BELGIAN REP, SUPPORTED BY CANADIAN REP, ALSO ELABORATED ON THE NEED FOR EFFECTIVE ASSOCIATED MEASURES (STABILIZING MEASURES, VERIFICATION, NON-CIRCUMVENTION). HE STRESSED THAT ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND THE RESULTING "TRANSPARENCY" OF EASTERN AND WESTERN FORCE STRUCTURE WAS AS IMPORTANT TO BELGIANS AS FORCE REDUCTIONS.
- 4. BELGIAN REP INFORMED US LATER THAT BRUSSELS WAS BASICALLY "FLEXIBLE" ON THE FRG INITIATIVE BUT BELIEVED THE ALLIES SHOULD AGREE ON A FUTURE WORK PROGRAM FOR MBFR. SUCH A WORK PROGRAM WOULD LIST ISSUES SUCH AS THOSE RAISED BY AMBASSADOR RUTH (PARA 3, REF E) AS WELL AS BELGIAN CONCERNS, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED AFTER

APPROVAL OF THE FRG INITIATIVE. COMMENT: THE OBVIOUS TACTICAL ATTRACTION OF THIS PROPOSAL IS THAT IT COULD PUT OFF DISCUSSION OF POTENTIALLY CONTENTIOUS ISSUES. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD ALSO TEND TO UNDERCUT ANY EFFORTS TO OBTAIN SUBSTANTIVE APPROVAL ON CURRENTLY "ILLUSTRATIVE" ITEMS, E.G., THE COMMON CEILING AND PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS, WHICH WOULD ALL BE REMANDED FOR STUDY. IF BELGIANS PRESS SUCH PROPOSAL WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD INDICATE WE ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER IT, PROVIDED SPC WORK ON FRG INITIATIVE WILL BE THEREBY EXPEDITED. ACTION REQUESTED:

WASHINGTON GUIDANCE.

5. IN RESPONDING TO ITALIAN AND BELGIAN REMARKS, FRG REP SECRET

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NOTED THE NEED TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN QUESTIONS OF TIMING AND THOSE OF SUBSTANCE WITH THE CLEAR NEED TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. HE STRESSED THAT AN MBFR AGREEMENT REQUIRED AGREEMENT ON DATA AND THAT STABILIZING MEASURES AND VERIFICATION WERE OBVIOUSLY OF GREAT CONCERN. FURTHERMORE, SOME PHASE II "MODALITIES" SHOULD BE LEFT UNDETERMINED TO INDUCE FURTHER EASTERN CONCESSIONS WHEN THE EAST SEEKS TO NAIL DOWN SPECIFICS OF ALLIANCE PHASE II REDUCTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO ITALIAN REMARKS, FRG REP ALSO SUGGESTED THE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE AS A "CHAPEAU" ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES TO SUPPLEMENT PARA 8 OF THE DRAFT TEXT (REF F). THE FRG SUGGESTION WAS POSITIVELY RECEIVED, BUT PRECISE LOCATION FOR IT IN THE TEXT HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED.

BEGIN TEXT: THE ALLIES ATTACH GREAT WEIGHT TO THE INCLUSION IN A FIRST AGREEMENT OF EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND STABILIZING MEASURES. THEY AGREE TO EXAMINE TO WHAT EXTENT WESTERN PROPOSALS CAN BE DEVELOPED ON THESE SUBJECTS WHICH WOULD EXTEND COVERAGE TO ALL DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON BOTH SIDES. END TEXT.

6. FRG REP ALSO SUGGESTED REVISION OF THE DRAFT UK FOOTNOTE ON "ILLUSTRATIVE" FIGURES (REF G) TO READ

BEGIN TEXT: FOOTNOTE TO PARA 4(A)
THE EXPRESSION "ILLUSTRATIVE FIGURE" MEANS THAT THE PERCENTAGES COULD BE VARIED, AND ALLIED NEGOTIATORS MAY IF NECESSARY EXPLAIN THIS TO THE EAST. HOWEVER, THE ALLIES WOULD NOT BE WILLING FOR THE PERCENTAGE IN THE SECOND OF THE TWO STAGES TO BE REDUCED TO LESS THAN 50 PERCENT. END TEXT.

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7. DUE TO CONFLICTS WITH EAST-WEST STUDY MEETING
10 NOVEMBER AND HOLIDAY FOR SEVERAL DELEGATIONS 11 NOVEMBER, NEXT SPC MEETING IS SET FOR MONDAY, 14 NOVEMBER.
SPC CHAIRMAN EXPRESSED HOPE THAT PARAGRAPH-BY-PARAGRAPH
REVIEW COULD BEGIN AT THAT TIME. GLITMAN UNQUOTE VANCE

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